

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO DECLARATION: YOUR DISCUSSION WITH
SAUVAGNARGUES AND IN THE NAC ON THE CONSULTATION ISSUE

1. ANTICIPATING YOUR MEETING WITH SAUVAGNARGUES AND DISCUSSION IN THE MINISTERIAL NAC, WE ARE PROVIDING IN THIS MESSAGE BACKGROUND ON THE DISPUTED LANGUAGE ON CONSULTATIONS IN PARA 11 OF THE NATO DECLARATION, SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS, AND SUGGESTED REFORMULATIONS OF PARAGRAPH 11. THE ALLIES HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF A NATO DECLARATION, EXCEPT FOR PARAGRAPH 11, ON THE KEY ISSUES OF CONSULTATIONS. WE AND ALL OTHERS EXCEPT FRANCE HAVE INDICATED THAT WE COULD ACCEPT THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION OF THAT PARAGRAPH, WHICH INCORPORATES IN BRACKETS A BELGIAN COMPROMISE IN THE SECOND SENTENCE, IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND THE FRENCH ON THAT SENTENCE:

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"11. THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST, THUS FOSTERING THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR DEFENSE AND

FAVORABLE FOR DETENTE WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY. IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FRIENDSHIP, EQUALITY AND SOLIDARITY WHICH CHARACTERIZE THEIR RELATIONSHIPS (THEY WILL KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF

FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS BY ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AS ALLIES), AND BEARING IN MIND THAT THESE INTERESTS CAN BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. THEY WISH ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS SUPPORTED BY HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. IN PARTICULAR THEY WILL WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER."

2. THE FRENCH, HOWEVER, HAVE INSISTED ON THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION OF THE BRACKETED PHRASE IN THE SECOND SENTENCE:

"...THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND WILL STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE..."

3. MOREOVER, THE FRENCH WERE NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING REFORMULATION OF THE BRACKETED PHRASE PUT TO PARIS BY DE ROSE:

"...THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND WILL, USING ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS, STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICES OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AS MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE..."

4. THE CENTRAL ISSUES DIVIDING US FROM THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN THE FRENCH DESIRE TO (A) DELETE THE PHRASE "ALL SECRET

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APPROPRIATE MEANS" AND (B) ELIMINATE "MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AS ALLIES", IN FAVOR OF "MATTERS RELATING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE." MOREOVER, DE ROSE APPARENTLY WAS UNABLE TO SWAY THE QUAI ON INCLUSION OF "ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS" BY SHIFTING IT TO MODIFY ONLY "STRENGTHENING THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION" RATHER THAN MODIFYING BOTH TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED" AND "STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS." THE FRENCH ALSO SEEM TO HAVE PROBLEMS WITH "UNDERTAKING" BOTH TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN CONSULTATIONS, AND WOULD APPARENTLY PREFER TO STATE THAT THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND "WILL" STRENGTHEN CONSULTATIONS.

5. FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PRESERVE "ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS," BECAUSE IT SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF INNOVATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN CONSULTATION PROCEDURES.

WE ALSO FAVOR "MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AS ALLIES" RATHER THAN "MATTERS RELATING TO THE ALLIANCE", BECAUSE THE FORMER SUGGESTS A BROADER AMBIT OF CONSULTATIONS, EMBRACING DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA IMPACTING ON THE ALLIES, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST.

6. WHILE BOTH MATTERS ARE OF MOMENT WHEN VIEWED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE LONG DEBATE OVER THE US-EC NINE AND NATO DECLARATIONS, THE ISSUE OF THE SCOPE OF NATO CONSULTATIONS IS OF GREATER IMPORTANCE. A STATEMENT THAT THE ALLIES WILL CONSULT ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AS ALLIES WOULD CARRY US CONSTRUCTIVELY BEYOND THE HARMEL REPORT, WHICH STATES WITH REGARD TO ISSUES ARISING OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA, THAT "IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED USAGE, THE ALLIES, ON SUCH OF THEM AS WISH TO DO SO, WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO CONSULT ON SUCH PROBLEMS WITHOUT COMMITMENT AND AS THE CASE MAY DEMAND."

7. IN DEALING WITH THESE ISSUES IN YOUR DISCUSSION WITH SAUVAGNARGUES AND UNDER THE MINISTERIAL AGENDA ITEM
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ON CONSULTATIONS, YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS: BEGIN TALKING POINTS:

-- OUR DEBATE ON THE NATO DECLARATION HAS RESULTED IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE CLARIFICATION OF MANY ISSUES.

-- BUT ON THE ISSUES OF OUR WILL TO CONSULT, THE TOPICS ON WHICH WE ARE TO CONSULT AND THE MEANS WE USE TO CONSULT WE HAVE NOT YET REACHED AGREEMENT.

-- DIFFERENCES IN VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES ARE REFLECTED IN OUR INABILITY TO AGREE ON THE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

-- I WOULD LIKE TO STEP BACK FROM THE WORDS IN THAT PARAGRAPH, HOWEVER, AND DISCUSS FOR A MOMENT OUR VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES.

-- FIRST, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE SPIRIT OF OUR CONSULTATIONS THAT WILL BE THE MEASURE OF THEIR WORTH. TO REMAIN CLOSED TO EACH OTHER AND TO DISREGARD THE FACTS OF OUR INTERTWINED INTERESTS IS TO IGNORE THE

FUNDAMENTAL REALITY THAT WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
EACH OTHERS VIEWS IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN VIABLE
SOCIETIES ABLE TO DEAL VIGOROUSLY WITH THE PROBLEMS
WE CONFRONT. WE MUST DEVELOP THE HABIT OF TALKING WITH

EACH OTHER FRANKLY AND MORE FREQUENTLY IN ORDER TO
AVOID THE RISKS INHERENT IN ACTING ALONE ON MATTERS
WHERE OUR COMMON INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE.

SECOND, THE TREATY AREA DOES NOT EXIST IN A VACUUM, AS
WE ALL LEARNED SO WELL IN CONNECTION WITH THE EVENTS IN
THE MIDDLE EAST. WE DO, IN FACT, FREQUENTLY CONSULT
IN THE ALLIANCE ON PROBLEMS ARISING OUTSIDE THE
GEOGRAPHIC PERIMETER LAID DOWN IN THE TREATY. THE
PRACTICE OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS, IN OUR VIEW, SHOULD
BECOME A REGULAR HABIT, AND NOT AS A REFLEX TO CRISIS
SITUATIONS. THUS WE FAVOR A FORMULATION IN THE
DECLARATION THAT WOULD NOT LIMIT OUR CONSULTATIONS
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NARROWLY TO "MATTERS RELATING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE
ALLIANCE," BUT RATHER WOULD REFLECT OUR DETERMINATION
TO CONSULT ON MATTERS AFFECTING OUR COMMON INTERESTS AS
ALLIES.

-- FINALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD LEAVE THE WAY OPEN
TO IMPROVE OUR CONSULTATIONS BY ADOPTING INNOVATIVE
PROCEDURES AS CIRCUMSTANCES DICTATE. RECENTLY, WE HELD
A REINFORCED MEETING OF THE COUNCIL THAT PROVED MOST
USEFUL IN ITS DISCUSSION OF ATLANTIC AND EAST-WEST
RELATIONS. AT THIS MEETING WE ARE EXPERIMENTING WITH
A NEW FORMAT. THESE, TOO, ARE REALITIES WHICH WE BELIEVE
SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AS A MANIFESTATION OF OUR
DETERMINATION TO INFUSE NEW VIGOR INTO THE ALLIANCE.

-- WE HAVE, THUS, FAVORED FINDING A WAY TO EXPRESS THIS
INTENT IN THE PARAGRAPH IN THE DECLARATION ON
CONSULTATIONS. FOR THIS REASON, WE WELCOMED THE STATEMENT
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DRAFT THAT "THEY WILL USE ALL
APPROPRIATE MEANS OF CONSULTATION ACCORDING TO THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR EVOLVING RELATIONS." WE DO NOT
SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ABLE, HOWEVER, TO FIND ANY
"APPROPRIATE MEANS" TO EXPRESS THIS THOUGHT IN A WAY
ACCEPTABLE TO ALL.

FOR USE IN NAC DISCUSSION:

-- I WOULD WELCOME THE VIEWS OF OTHERS ON THESE ISSUES,
AND ON THE WAY WE SHOULD EXPRESS OUR INTENTIONS IN THE
DECLARATION IN A WAY SATISFACTORY TO ALL. END TALKING
POINTS.

8. IN YOUR DISCUSSION WITH SAUVAGNARGUES AND IN NAC
DEBATE ON PARAGRAPH 11, ALLIES EXPECT THAT YOU WILL
SUPPORT INITIALLY THE LANGUAGE IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS
MESSAGE. IF THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO RESIST, YOU THEN MAY

WISH TO DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS
OF THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THAT PARAGRAPH:

A) "...THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED
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AND WILL STRENGTHEN THROUGH ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS THE
PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS. IN THIS
CONNECTION, THEY WILL BEAR IN MIND THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THEIR CLOSE ASSOCIATION IN THE ALLIANCE, THEIR OTHER
COMMON INTERESTS, AND THE EFFECTS ON THEIR RELATIONS OF
EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD."

B) "...THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED
AND WILL STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF CONSULTATION,
TAKING THE STEPS THEY CONSIDER TO BE APPROPRIATE TO
ENHANCE THE SCOPE, TIMELINESS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH
CONSULTATIONS. IN THEIR EFFORTS TO THESE ENDS, THEY WILL
TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE, OF THEIR
SHARED CONCERN FOR PROMOTING CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND
STABILITY, AND OF THE EFFECT ON THEIR INTERESTS OF
EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD." (NOTE: THE PHRASE
"PROMOTING CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND STABILITY" IS TAKEN
FROM ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY.)

S/S: PLEASE INTEGRATE THIS PAPER INTO THE BILATERAL
PAPER FOR THE MEETING WITH SAUVAGNARGUES, AND
PLACE IT ALSO IN THE BRIEFING BOOK FOR NATOMIN
UNDER THE ATLANTIC RELATIONS AGENDA ITEM TAB.

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